

THE MILITANT

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Fair Players Defy Senate Witch Hunt

By George Lavan

The unspeakable Senator Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee spent four days last week trying to smear the Fair Play for Cuba Committee but its witch hunt efforts failed miserably.

Following the appearance of a United Press dispatch of an unattributed but obviously inspired story about Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party domination of the FPCC, Eastland subpoenaed over a dozen people from Cleveland and Detroit.

While a few of these people are active in FPCC and one, Edward Shaw of Detroit, is the organization's Midwest representative, most had little or no connection with FPCC. In a number of instances the only connection was that they had availed themselves of last year's low-cost Xmas tour to Cuba sponsored by Fair Play.

Following the policy of principled non-cooperation with the witch-hunters, Shaw refused to

testify about the activities or members of the Fair Play committee. Despite hours of bullying by Senator Dodd in an executive (secret) session on June 14, Shaw didn't budge an inch. This brought from the near-apoplectic Dodd the shout: "You are the worst witness I have had in 30 years."

At a public session the next day Shaw read a statement blasting the subcommittee's violations of the Bill of Rights and suggesting that it investigate the recent invasion of Cuba and Senator Dodd's business dealings with the reactionary regime in Guatemala. The text of the statement follows:

"Having been interrogated at great length by this subcommittee yesterday in private session, it comes as a surprise to be called before a public session today. Such a move can only be construed as an attempt to use the subcommittee for very questionable publicity purposes which have no relation to the legitimate purposes of the subcommittee which is to determine the need for new legislation or for the amendment of current legislation.

"As an American whose lineage (Continued on Page 2)

Public Health Gains Registered in Cuba

The Cuban revolution is making impressive strides in its public health program. On May 30, President Osvaldo Dorticos reported these gains to the nation:

- In 1958 there wasn't a single rural hospital in Cuba. Today there are 62.

- In 1958 the island's public health budget was \$22 million. The amount allocated for 1961 was \$72 million.

- In 1958 there were 10,643 hospital beds available for the country's population of 6.5 million. Today there are 21,545, an increase of 112 per cent.

The Cuban president said that "without a social revolution it would have been impossible to carry on a program of public health."

The scandalous public health situation in the U.S. underlines his point.

Adlai Stevenson Dresses Down a Dictator

The best that the State Department can hope to say about Adlai Stevenson's Latin American tour which was intended to line up anti-Cuba forces is that he managed to survive the trip unscathed. Compared to the stone-throwing mass demonstrations that greeted Nixon in 1958, this is probably viewed as progress.

In Chile, demonstrators smashed windows at the United States Information Agency to protest Stevenson's presence. In Peru, police used tear gas to disperse students at the University of San Marcos who wanted to let him know how they feel about Yankee imperialism.

The nature of the U.S. "alliance for progress" was spotlighted with Stevenson's arrival in Bolivia the day nine demonstrators were killed by police and 32 wounded. The demonstrators were

Washington Acts to Resume Cancer-Breeding Bomb Tests

By Harry Ring

There was a universal sigh of relief in 1958 when Washington yielded to world-wide pressure and followed the Soviet example in halting nuclear tests. But 30 months of non-testing is apparently too much for our bomb-happy politicians and they are now seeking to resume the deadly explosions.

The opening move to soften up the public was made by Rep. Chet Holifield of California, chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy and one of the liberal luminaries of the Democratic party. He urged the administration to renounce the present test moratorium.

Holifield's "trial balloon" was followed June 18 by release of a U.S. note to the Soviet Union warning that Washington is considering ending the curb on tests.

If the administration carries through its threat it will mean further pollution of the atmosphere and will intensify the danger of a new war — fought with weapons even more hellish than the ones that already exist in sufficient supply to "overkill" the world's population.

One of the reasons testing should be resumed, declared Holifield, is that weapons "concepts are being



considered by our scientists which could be as revolutionary as the H-bomb of 1949."

The June 18 *New York Times* explained: "One possible 'revolutionary' development is the so-called neutron bomb — a 'death ray' device that would kill everyone in the target area but leave no lingering radioactive fall-out."

The arguments made to justify

Shoreside Unions Support Seamen Pickets in Strike

NEW YORK, June 19 — Unions of longshoremen, oilworkers, shipyard machinists, and teamsters are respecting picket lines of six seamen's unions, representing some 83,000 members, which are in the fourth day of a strike against shipping companies on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. This solidarity is tying up most U.S. shipping and many U.S.-owned ships registered under foreign "flags of convenience."

The unions on strike are: the 37,000-member National Maritime Union; the 22,000-member Atlantic, Gulf and Lakes section of the Seafarers International Union; the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association and the Masters, Mates and Pilots with 11,000 members each; the American Radio Association with 1,000 members; and the tanker section of the Radio Officers Union with 1,500 members.

The NMU and the ARA are united for bargaining. The SIU, the MEBA, and the ROU form another block. The Masters, Mates and Pilots union is bargaining

separately, but is collaborating with the NMU in some features of the strike.

The demands of the striking unions are varied, but they all seek company recognition of the right to organize ships operated by U.S. owners under foreign flags. The SIU and MEBA won agreement on this point from some companies, with whom they have contracts, prior to the strike. U.S. owners have registered about 450 ships under the flags of Honduras, Liberia and Panama to avoid U.S. taxes, union conditions, and other operating expenses. These ships are not generally manned by citizens either of the U.S. or of the countries whose flags they fly.

Several of the unions, particularly the NMU and the Masters, Mates and Pilots seek changes in work rules — which affect net pay — to gain equity with other unions.

Before the negotiations, the NMU had announced its central demand would be for a shorter work week in the form of longer paid-time-off ashore. This demand has not been stressed recently.

a test resumption are shamelessly fraudulent. The essential propaganda claim is that the Soviet Union may already be conducting undetected underground tests and that the Soviet negotiating team at Geneva has rejected an effective system of test-ban inspection and control.

But the record shows that the blame for the absence of a permanent test ban rests squarely on Washington. For nearly five years the Soviet Union has pressed for such an agreement and the U.S. — under both Eisenhower and Kennedy — has resisted every step of the way.

First there was the incredible argument that fallout really isn't dangerous. ("Safer than cigarettes," opined Dr. Edward Teller.) Then came the gambit that further tests were necessary to develop a "clean" bomb. This was followed by the claim that a ban wasn't feasible because underground shots couldn't be detected. They even exploded a bomb deep underneath the Nevada testing site to prove it. But — official claims to the contrary — the blast was recorded as far off as Alaska.

Finally, on March 31, 1958, the Soviet Union announced a voluntary halt to testing. The world-wide pressure for the U.S. to follow suit was so powerful that after six more months of stalling, Washington agreed to a temporary moratorium and entered the Geneva negotiations, which have dragged on since.

From the outset Washington put every possible obstacle in the path of agreement. At the very beginning it demanded that nothing even be discussed until there was full agreement on technical problems of control and inspection.

After the Soviet Union conceded on inspection teams, the U.S. seized on Soviet insistence that there be tri-partite inspection control — one Soviet representative, one U.S. and one neutral, with action only by unanimous consent. The U.S. now demands that one neutral be in charge. The Soviet Union has viewed this with suspicion on the basis of "neutral" Dag Hammarskjöld's performance on behalf of Western imperialism in the Congo.

The contention that the Soviet Union cannot be trusted to keep (Continued on Page 2)

Detroit SWP Urges Aid for Bus Fight

DETROIT — Robert Himmel and Sarah Lovell, candidates for mayor and member of the common council, endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party, have proposed that the city administration and local labor leaders combine efforts to aid the Freedom Riders.

Buses to South

In addition to calling for a "mass picket line around the Federal Building demanding government protection of the unrestricted right to travel," the two candidates urged the unions and the common council to send bus loads of Detroiters into the South.

"The common council should charter hundreds of buses, the labor movement should fill them with interracial groups of thousands of trade unionists," they said.

Throughout their campaign Himmel and Lovell have insisted that it is labor's obligation to support the Southern integration battle and pointed out that such aid can facilitate the unionization of the South. This would be the effective answer to the acute problem of runaway shops.

'Quit' — R. Kennedy To Freedom Riders

By Fred Halstead

JUNE 19 — The jails at Jackson, Miss., are filling up. Freedom Ride tests of travel facilities are spreading to other parts of the South. And Attorney General Robert Kennedy, pressuring leaders of the Freedom Rider movement to abandon justice for the sake of the administration's political stability, is urging them to call off the movement.

Nine leaders of the movement visited the Attorney General June 16 and reportedly asked him why he didn't stop racist local officials from arresting Freedom Riders. Neither side chose to comment fully on the conversation afterwards but the June 17 *New York Times* reports that "there are indications the Attorney General had told the leaders that he felt the demonstrations started last month had made a point, but that nothing further could be gained at this time by continuing the demonstrations."

An example of the reasons why Kennedy wants the Freedom Riders to quit was the order, issued to state police last week by Alabama Governor John Patterson, to refuse cooperation to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The FBI counts heavily on support from the racist cops in the South and has always studiously refrained from doing anything they didn't like. This order is just Patterson's way of reminding the Attorney General that he expects continuing support for the Southern system of exploitation. Patterson was an important supporter of John Kennedy at the Democratic presidential nominating convention last year.

Meanwhile, in Biloxi, Miss., U.S. District Judge Sidney Mize is being asked by Freedom Riders to rule on the constitutionality of the state's "breach of peace" law which has been used as a subterfuge to jail 116 riders in Jackson so far. Fifteen more riders, heading for Jackson, arrived in New Orleans from Berkeley, Calif., this week.

Ferment in the UAW Locals

By Tom Kerry

Dissatisfaction with the Reuther policy and leadership, expressed by a vocal minority at the recent Detroit Special Bargaining Convention of the AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers, is being echoed in elections for local officers now in progress throughout the country.

In Ford Local 600, the opposition Job Security Slate headed by Harry Philo, came within less than 2,000 votes of toppling the entrenched Stellato machine. It was the toughest opposition Stellato has faced since his election in 1950.

Stellato received 12,466 votes to 10,528 for Philo. Stellato can derive little comfort from his "victory." His filthy smear campaign coupled with the injection of racist poison has destroyed forever his moral standing in the union.

Reuther's Puppet

Stellato's reliance on the Reutherite machine in eking out his slim majority strips him of any shred of "independence" which has been his main stock-in-trade. The role of Reuther puppet will not prove popular in Local 600.

Election returns from locals in UAW Region 6 (California), give us a preview of the discontent boiling up in the ranks.

An opposition slate in Chrysler Local 230, Maywood, just about made a clean sweep of incumbent local officers.

The same result occurred in the election of officers for Ford Local 923, the Lincoln-Mercury Division in Maywood, California.

There is a real battle on for control of North American Aviation Local 887 in Los Angeles. It is reported the Reutherites considered this one so important that they assigned Leonard Woodcock, ace "troubleshooter" for the machine, to take a direct hand in the power struggle.

Most significant is the election victory scored by a group of genuine militants in the General Motors Local 216 election at the South Gate plant.

Seven of the eight opposition candidates in Local 216 were elected along with three independents who incline toward the opposition.

The central core of the Local 216 opposition has long been identified as the most vigorous oppo-



Reuther

nents of the Reutherite leadership in the International Union. They have been the most consistent advocates of a 30-hour week with no reduction in pay and for breaking with the policy of supporting candidates of the Democratic party.

As the deadline for contract negotiations draws near, the ranks

are becoming more uneasy about the policy of the Reuther leadership. No attempt has been made to prepare the membership for a showdown fight with the corporations.

Reuther has been so preoccupied with stumping the country as Kennedy's representative on the "Tractors for Freedom" committee that he has had little time to mount a campaign for the union's contract objectives.

There is a growing feeling that Reuther does not intend to make a real fight but is relying on his "friend" in the White House to gain concessions from the auto barons.

In view of President Kennedy's openly proclaimed opposition to a reduction of hours with no reduction in pay and his oft repeated warnings against "increasing labor costs," the Reuther policy can only succeed in leading the union into a trap.

There is ferment in the ranks of the auto workers. Thus far the ferment has given rise to discontent which expresses itself in opposition movements, often inchoate and on a local level. In the event of a repetition of the 1958 contract fiasco these local opposition movements must find their focus on the heart of the problem — the national Reuther leadership.

... Fair Players Defy Witch Hunt

(Continued from Page 1)

can be traced to ancestors who took part in the birth of the United States of America as an independent and sovereign nation. I am proud to have been called before this subcommittee. It is no accident that the Senator from Mississippi who signed the subpoena ordering me to testify today, a senator who does not recognize the First Amendment nor the Fourteenth Amendment to our Constitution, who comes from a state which does not allow nearly half of its adult citizen to vote, who with his colleagues on this subcommittee is attempting to smear and stifle those who would uphold the integrity, dignity and honor of the United States, should consider me a danger to his concept of the American way of life. Attack by this subcommittee implies recognition by the enemies of freedom at home and abroad that my efforts on behalf of freedom and truth have been to some avail. I feel honored.

Not Intimidated

"I will not be intimidated into cooperating with you in your efforts to suppress the free expression of public indignation over the illegal and immoral invasion of Cuba by the U.S. government and its Central Intelligence Agency. Here indeed is a more pertinent matter for investigation by this group, combined perhaps with the overthrow of the legally elected government of Guatemala in 1954 in which the CIA participated. To facilitate further warlike moves against Cuba this inquisitorial body is trying to subvert freedom of expression and other traditional liberties, to intimidate individuals and organizations who dare to speak and write the truth, and to cover the entire nation with that atmosphere of prejudice, hatred,

fear and oppression which persists in the home state of Mr. Eastland and to which he owes his present position as U.S. senator.

"Finally, why not investigate private business dealings with foreign governments such as Guatemala in violation of the Logan Act? I suggest that perhaps Senator Dodd could give interesting testimony in this regard."

... Nuclear Tests

(Continued from Page 1)

its word on a test ban is a prime example of sheer brass. It was Washington that dropped the first atomic bombs on defenseless Japanese with the hypocritical claim that it was necessary to end the war. (Japan had already sent out peace feelers.) It was Washington that violated Soviet borders with the U-2 and then lied about it. It was Washington that organized the invasion of Cuba and lied about it.

And Washington is even lying about the danger of the Soviet Union outstripping the U.S. in the atomic race by carrying on undetected underground tests. This was revealed in a June 19 New York Times editorial which said: "While clandestine underground tests are possible, these are limited to rather small bombs and are very costly and cumbersome. There is no clear evidence that such tests have taken place, and there is very small likelihood that enough of them could have taken place to catch up with us."

The move to resume the tests will bring bitter world opposition. This was verified in a report compiled by the U.S. Information Service. Contrary to usual procedure with such reports, the contents have been kept secret. But the June 16 New York Herald Tribune reported: "It is understood, nevertheless, that foreign diplomatic posts report that in India, Japan . . . large areas of Latin America and some other countries, the present reaction . . . would be very bad for the United States."

Yet Washington is considering defying this sentiment. Unless the no-test demand is sharply intensified — abroad and at home — the world will be subjected to even more pollution by cancer-breeding strontium.



"BALANCING." A cartoon by Chago in *Revolución*.

"We'd Ask Him, How Come . . . ?"

(The following are excerpts from a June 8 speech by Fidel Castro to the conference of the International Student Union in Havana.)

Do you believe we put obstacles in the way of North Americans who want to visit Cuba? No, our doors are open. If they want, let three million of them come — in peace of course — to visit Cuba so they can see how horrible the Cuban regime is, how discontented the people are. Our attitude is, come to see what a democratic government is, what a revolutionary government is.

They don't want Southern Negroes to visit Cuba. They don't want honest labor leaders to visit Cuba. They don't want decent university professors to visit Cuba. They prefer to lie without limit and not let anyone visit Cuba. It is as if we would be afraid to let people go to the United States because they might come back imperialists.

We're ready to send on a visit to the United States as many people as they want. We're even ready to have people take a course in a university over there to see if brain-washing exists. Because it's a very curious thing . . . why can the communists brainwash and the imperialists can't. . . . The fact is that the imperialists convince no one, that is all; and the communists can convince someone. At least they tell us this is a communist government. We haven't given it this name. We have said this is a socialist revolution.

But we have something to say to the North Americans who come here because even the most illustrious magnate, the most illustrious Western landholder — we would bring them here and the people would show them where the workers on a People's Farm are living . . . all the advantages the workers have.

We would point out a big estate where six people used to work and where 2,000 people are now working. We can show them how we have to recruit men from the city to cut cane because there aren't enough workers. And we'd ask him: Mister, how do you explain that in the United States, with so many factories, there is so much unemployment? And the Mister wouldn't find a thing to say. He'd start talking about free enterprise . . . the advantages of free enterprise, etc., etc. But he wouldn't be able to explain to us how come there's so much unemployment in his country — with all its factories — and how come in our country — with so few factories — there is so much em-

ployment.

And we'd ask him, how come no more than a few hundred families go to the luxurious clubs in his country, and we'd take him for a ride along the Havana shore on a Sunday afternoon and he could see the people in their social clubs which used to be aristocratic clubs where only a few could go.

And we'd take him to Liberty City, Batista's old Pentagon, now converted into the Education Ministry, full of kids, and we'd ask him: Mister, wouldn't it seem a good idea to you if the Pentagon were a school?

Then we'd take him to Varadero, where he'd see a worker and his family staying in a hotel more luxurious than one in Miami, where nobody except millionaires go. And we'd ask him if it didn't seem like a good thing to him for North American workers, also, to go bathing at all the Miami beaches.

And finally, we'd show him how we — without industrial development — can give our workers, peasants and humble people what they — with all their factories and all their industrial development — cannot give to their people. And we give more vacations than they do. And workers have shorter hours than they do and here a factory worker has more rights because over there a boss comes along and fires him. That's why the capitalists over there have a fund so that when they fire a worker he won't protest too much because he can get compensation for a few months. But then the time comes when the compensation stops.

And the worker over there . . . has no guarantees. The boss lays him off and then they say that's a good thing because if there's a lazy worker the boss should fire him. Oh, but if there's a lazy boss, not all the workers together could lay him off . . .

What would they say to a Cuban worker or peasant who went over there? Are they going to tell him: look at that lovely landed estate, what a great big estate. Are they going to take a peasant from a cane cooperative to the Southern part of the United States where they have plantations where the Negro laborers work like slaves and say to him: Look at that fine plantation?

But we can say to the Negro laborer: Look at that fine cooperative where you are the master and the administrator and there aren't any overseers. We do have something to say to the North American workers, farmers and students. And they don't have a thing to tell us but lies.

Weekly Calendar

EAST COAST

Educational Encampment at Mountain Spring Camp in the Pocono Foothills. June 26 to July 4. Lecture Series. William F. Warde on *The Development of Democracy from the Greeks to Our Day*. Evelyn Reed on *Marriage and the Family Today*. Tom Kerry on *30 Years of U.S. Labor Struggle*. Joseph Hansen on *Cuba, Latin America and the Permanent Revolution*. George Lavan and Henry Ring on *Socialism and the Negro Struggle*. Tim Wohlforth leads a symposium on *The Youth Movement in Many Lands*. Sumptuous meals. Swimming. Recreation. \$37.50 to \$50 a week. \$6 to \$8 a day. For reservations, call Mountain Spring Camp, Washington, N. J. Phone 689-9852. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee will hold a gala dance to welcome delegates to its first national conference. Sat., July 1, 8:30 p.m. Central Plaza Second Ave. at 7th St. Dancing. Entertainment, Refreshments. Contrib. \$2.

A Dance to Celebrate Cuba's 26th of July. Guests of honor: Julio Medina, org. sec'y, 26th of July Movement; Melitta del Villar, FPCC; Richard Gibson, acting exec. sec'y, FPCC; Berta Green, sec'y, FPCC Entertainment. Latin American band. Sat., July 22, Leonardo Da Vinci Hall, 350 Flatbush Ave. Ext. (Opp. Paramount Theater.) BMT to DeKalb Ave. IRT to Nevins St. Contrib. \$2. Tickets in advance only. Send check or money order to Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. Ausp. Brooklyn Chapter, FPCC.

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

Introduction by Richard Gibson

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Monday, June 26, 1961

Korea and Cuba - The Difference

"SEOUL, Korea, June 6 — The South Korean military junta decreed today an absolute military dictatorship with power wielded by a handful of officers . . . the junta assumed dictatorial powers that not even Dr. Syngman Rhee had enjoyed." — From a June 7 New York Times dispatch.

"SEOUL, Korea, June 7 — Gen. Carter B. Magruder, commander of United Nations forces here, declared today that he would 'continue to work willingly' with the military junta to strengthen the defense of South Korea." — From a June 8 New York Times dispatch.

It is hard to conceive of two news excerpts which would provide a more complete indictment of U.S. foreign policy.

For more than two years Washington has been trying to overthrow the most popular government the Cuban people have ever enjoyed — and the crusade to overthrow that government is wrapped in pious lies about "anti-totalitarianism" and "freedom." But in South Korea, the Pentagon — in 24 hours — can come to terms with the vilest kind of tyranny and declare its readiness to "work willingly" with it.

The string of dictators around the globe who remain in power by the grace of the U.S. is long and sickening. The "liberal" wing of the cold-war movement complains that such partnerships "distort" the U.S. image abroad and that this should be corrected so that the cold war may be more effectively prosecuted.

But alliances with such dictatorial regimes is in the very nature of U.S. imperialism. The cold war and the preparations for an eventual hot one are not based on any shibboleths about freedom — that's propaganda for the masses. The real aim, simply, is to save capitalism where it still exists in the world and to restore it where it has been abolished.

With the majority of the people of the world moving in an anti-capitalist direction, dictatorships like the South Korean junta inevitably develop in those countries where the people are temporarily unsuccessful in their efforts to end capitalist exploitation.

Since such dictatorships serve the same fundamental aim which U.S. foreign policy seeks to achieve, it is only a natural law of politics that they should be included in the alliance.

But their inclusion in the "free world" serves to expose the lying nature of the propaganda claims about it and to point up the need for opposition to the reactionary foreign policy and to the bi-partisan big business government which promotes it.

Dominican Danger Signal

The State Department announces the situation in the Dominican Republic necessitates "close and continuing study, which may well involve further on-the-spot observations" by the Organization of American States. This is another move in creating a device for U.S. intervention. The U.S. military built the Trujillo machine and U.S. corporations are still profiting from the brutal system of exploitation it protects. But its ability to withstand a revolutionary storm such as that which swept Cuba is questionable. So Washington is now considering intervening in the name of the OAS and parlaying such an intervention into an attack on Cuba. As William V. Shannon reports in the June 13 New York Post: "There has developed within the administration a proposal for a two-pronged military operation against Cuba and the Dominican Republic simultaneously. The idea behind it is that the U.S. would be moving in the name of democracy against dictatorships of the left and of the right."

New Anti-Union Frontier

The labor movement is now faced with a dangerous new move by the federal government interfering in internal union affairs.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy, the millionaire who parades as an opponent of "undemocratic" union practices, has invoked the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law against the democratic right of union members to elect their own officers.

Kennedy used the law's provision, which prohibits the holding of union office by any person who was a member of the Communist Party within the previous five years, to indict Archie Brown, a west coast longshoreman. Brown is a member of the executive board of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

The union has taken the sound position of full backing to Brown. The Local 10 executive board voted unanimously to "stand by and defend Brown." ILWU president Harry Bridges declared in the June 2 issue of the union's paper, the *Dispatcher*, that "Brown was elected a member of the 35-man executive board by the secret ballot of his fellow longshoremen. They put him into office and they — and none else — can remove him from office in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of this union."

"We have no second-class citizens in the ILWU," said Bridges, "and every member — irrespective of race, color, creed, national origin or political belief — can be nominated, run for, and be elected to any union office. He serves as long as the members wish him to serve."

Practical self-interest alone makes it imperative for the entire union movement to support the ILWU in this stand.

Was Hungarian Revolution Anti-Socialist?

By Shane Mage

The statements by Premier Khrushchev quoted in K.M.G.'s letter contribute much more to our understanding of Mr. Khrushchev than of the Hungarian Revolution. His version of what happened in Hungary was created to justify his suppression of the revolution, and, shocking as this may be to many people, there is scarcely a word of truth in it.

Thus Khrushchev claims that his army intervened in Hungary at the request of the Hungarian government and on the basis of existing international agreements. But the fact is that the intervention of November 4, 1956, aimed at the overthrow of the legal Hungarian government headed by Imre Nagy; and this at the very moment when the Soviet government was negotiating with the Nagy government! Khrushchev claims that the Kadar government, which he himself created and imposed on Hungary, constituted the "legitimate" government. The transparency of this claim can best be appreciated if we consider an analogous, and dangerously possible, situation: Kennedy recognizing Miro Cardona as the head of the "legitimate" Cuban government and at his request sending U.S. troops into Cuba to overthrow Fidel Castro's government.

Again, Khrushchev states that the execution of Imre Nagy, Pal Maleter, Miklos Gimes and other leaders of the Hungarian Revolution was "a purely internal affair." The fact is that Imre Nagy, after the Russian invasion, took asylum in the Yugoslav Embassy. When the Kadar government promised him safe conduct he and his comrades left the embassy — and were promptly kidnapped by the Russian political police. They were kept prisoners in Rumania by the Russians for a year and a half and only sent back to Hungary to be killed. Is this a "purely internal affair"?

Secret Trial

Nagy, Maleter and the others were Communists who, whatever political mistakes they may have made, always fought to build a democratic and socialist Hungary. Their real "crime" was simply that they attempted to persuade other Communists of the correctness of their political ideas, through Imre Nagy's book, *In Defense of the New Course* (published in the U.S. under the title *Imre Nagy on Communism*). Their trial was secret — what did the Hungarian government have to hide in this "internal affair"? Isn't it plain that the execution of Imre Nagy was merely the latest in the long series of Stalinist frame-up murders which took the lives of such Communist leaders as Zinoviev, Bukharin, Rajk, Kostov, and Slansky?

But Khrushchev's main contention is that the Hungarian Revolution was really a Horthyite counter-revolution aimed at restoring fascism and was carried out by a "handful of fascist supporters and imperialist agents . . . followed by a small number of misguided honest people."

Is not this accusation obviously unsupportable on its very face? The Hungarian "Peoples Republic" possessed a large army and a powerful, efficient, and ruthless secret police. Why couldn't this Hungarian force handle with ease anything a "handful" of fascists could attempt? Why was the intervention of the Russian forces required?

The answer is that the picture given by Khrushchev is totally false. All eyewitness accounts, including those of Communist journalists, like Peter Fryer (London *Daily Worker*) and Victor Worozylsky (Warsaw *Nova Kultura*), agree that the Hungarian Revolution was the work of an entire people in arms, led by the working class. The revolution began when the secret police fired into a peaceful demonstration of workers and students who were de-

Reader Cites Khrushchev

Glens Falls, N. Y.

I should like to comment on certain remarks made by Mr. Harry Ring in his article, "Two Stevensons and One Roa," April 24th *The Militant*, beginning with the words "the real analogy between Hungary and Cuba," and ending with "they wanted national independence and socialist democracy."

Undoubtedly you know that Premier Khrushchev has written a book entitled *For Victory in Peaceful Competition with Capitalism*, published in the U.S. in 1960 by Dutton & Co. In this book Mr. K. repeats comments he made to the open letter addressed both to him and President Eisenhower by Lord Bertrand Russell in late 1957 regarding disarmament, cessation of nuclear weapons tests, etc. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles replied to Lord Russell in the name of President Eisenhower. Says Mr. K.:

"Mr. Dulles speaks of the Hungarian revolt. The essence of this matter is that in Hungary the Horthy elements, the agents of foreign monopoly capital, tried to overthrow the Peoples Democratic order to restore the hated fascist regime. The handful of fascist supporters and imperialist agents were followed by a small number of misguided honest people. In pursuing their anti-popular aims, the enemies of socialist Hungary took advantage of mistakes made by the former Hungarian leaders. The conspirators provoked a rebellion against the legitimate government of the Hungarian Peoples Republic which the people had elected on a constitutional basis. To declare that these Horthy elements were expressing the will of the people is to present black as white."

"The Hungarian government had every right to appeal for help and the Soviet Union, on the basis of the agreements existing between our two countries, gave assistance to Hungary — in the interests of the Hungarian people and to the people of the entire world — to prevent the return of the Horthy regime and to put an end to the fascist violence that had begun in Hungary. This help was given on legitimate grounds and it was justified from every point of view. If the counter-revolution had succeeded in establishing a fascist regime in Hungary it would have been a tremendous disaster for the peoples of Europe — not for Europe alone because it could have led to tragic events, similar to those which followed the fascist seizure of power in Germany, Austria and Spain, which caused the people so much suffering and bloodshed, including the peoples of the U.S., Britain and France . . ."

"Mr. Dulles drags in Hungary merely to confirm his argument that the Soviet Union interferes in the internal affairs of other countries . . . Is it not clear that the sentence passed by the Hungarian people on Imre Nagy and his accomplices was a purely internal affair? Like every other country the Hungarian Peoples Republic is entitled to prosecute the enemies of its people. Why were there no protests from the West when the counter-revolutionaries of Budapest and other Hungarian cities were killing hundreds of people and hanging Communists and non-Communists on lamp posts? The imperialists were rejoicing then because it was mostly Communists and progressives who were being beaten and killed and because the outrages organized by Nagy and his accomplices were aimed against the Socialist system, but when the Hungarians retaliated on lawful grounds, and not by lynching, the imperialists went into hysterics . . ."

I am passing the above along as I thought it might be of interest. With best wishes,

K.M.G.

manding the democratization of the state and the return of Imre Nagy to the position of premier.

The main fighting, and the summary executions, were directed against the secret police, the AVH. This force had admittedly been responsible for tortures, murders, frame-ups; and was continuing its reign of terror with massacres of unarmed demonstrators. The AVH was the Hungarian equivalent of Batista's secret police, and the summary executions of AVH torturers were as justified as the executions of Batistiano professional killers that followed the Cuban Revolution.

The Hungarian workers were not fighting for a return to the capitalist tyranny they had known before 1945. Like the Cubans today, they fought for national independence and for socialist democracy. Their fight did not end with the second Russian intervention but in fact went on to a new and higher level. Faced with overwhelming military force the workers used their own class weapon the *general strike*. The general strike continued for over a month until the middle of December, being eventually defeated by starvation and police terror.

Most important of all, in the very course of the struggle the Hungarian workers created their own democratic organs of political power, *workers' councils*, like the Russian *soviets* of the revolutionary years. These councils led and spoke for the entire Hungarian working class and, after Nov. 4, for the entire Hungarian people. Can even Khrushchev contend that workers' councils are an institution of counter-revolution? Workers' councils are in fact, the very heart and soul of a proletarian

revolution, and their leading role was vivid proof of the proletarian, democratic, and genuinely communist direction of the Hungarian revolution.

The true spirit of the Hungarian revolution was expressed by the workers' council of Dunapentele in its appeal to the Russian soldiers:

"Your state was created at the cost of bloody fighting so that you could have freedom. Today is the thirty-ninth anniversary of that revolution . . . the Hungarian people are fighting desperately for the same rights you fought for in 1917."

"Why do you want to crush our liberty? You can see that it is not factory proprietors, not landowners, and not the bourgeoisie who have taken up arms against you, but the Hungarian people, who are fighting desperately for the same rights you fought for in 1917."

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A PAMPHLET REVIEW

Why Stevenson Likes African Art

THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION. Information Bulletin — Background Material. Compiled by Frances James. 41 pp., mimeographed, maps and charts. New York: Pioneer Publishers, April 1961, 50c.

Socialists no longer have to "sell" the American public on the importance of Africa, the capitalist politicians and press are doing that job. Republican Vice-President Nixon made his highly-publicized tour of Africa, now Democratic Vice President Lyndon Johnson has made his trip. The "Peace Corps" is aimed as much at "winning" Africa as at retaining Latin America. In the United Nations the U.S. finds it expedient for the first time to vote with the Afro-Asian and Soviet blocs against its military ally, Portugal, on the Angola issue. U. S. Ambassador Stevenson, conveniently discovering that he has a great interest in African art and culture, inaugurates a series of informal at-homes for African delegates.

But though socialists may boast prior interest in Africa and cleaner motives, they cannot really boast of adequate, let alone thorough, knowledge. Though the

average socialist in this country may contribute and cheer for the freedom fighters in the Union of South Africa, he is an exception indeed if he knows what the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Pan Africanists and the various socialist groups there stand for — whether their programs differ and wherein.

It is the merit of this informational bulletin that it furnishes the reader just such information on this and many other subjects. It is an additional merit, that this is done not by the author saying it is thus and so but by presenting what may be termed source material — selections from speeches of African leaders, programs of various parties and movements, articles from African (and British, etc.) papers and magazines which pay close attention to African developments.

The compiler also has the happy knack of finding just those excerpts which do the informational task with brevity and pertinency. With this method she introduces the reader to aspects of the current political situation in the Union of South Africa, Guinea, Mali, Gabon, Nigeria and Ghana. In a few pages are sum-

marized the economic stake of the U.S. in Africa. The section on Land contains invaluable tables on the percentage of the population involved in agricultural commodity production and in wage labor. This will surely be an eye-opener for those who think the continent's population is still overwhelmingly engaged in subsistence farming.

The trade union movement as well as the unique position of women in African agriculture is described along with what this may portend for struggles ahead. Finally there are sections on Pan-African Concepts and Perspectives and on the Communist Parties.

At a time when books, particularly about Africa, are so quickly outdated by the breakneck pace of events, the format of this brochure is especially useful and it is to be hoped the author will bring out additional compilations. This will give the reader background information and keep him sufficiently abreast of current events to read the newspaper accounts of what's happening in Africa with a degree of comprehension not intended by our lords of the press.—G.L.

The American Way of Life

Peculiar Odor in Boston

By William Bundy

There's a big stink in Boston these days over corruption in Massachusetts state politics. Last summer a consulting engineer named Thomas Worcester, holding contracts with the state Public Works Department, was convicted of federal income tax evasion because he deducted bribes as business expenses. The judge offered him a suspended sentence if he would tell the full story of the bribes. So Worcester lifted the lid, revealing a lot of big fish, but no ice.

Worcester had put state legislators on the payroll of his firm when they didn't do any work, and he paid ten percent of the \$2.7 million in contracts he got from state agencies to a con-

tact who got him the business. This case has created a big stir, but it barely touches widespread corruption which has been public knowledge for some time.

One example of life among Massachusetts politicians, reported in the June 19 *New York Times*, is "the testimonial dinner to a public official. The guests pay, and the official gets the proceeds. Thus last year, more than 1,000 persons — many from the food industry — paid \$15 each to honor an official of the state's Public Health Department."

A series of articles in the *Boston Herald* in 1958 reported this quaint custom of the Puritan State Public Works Department: renting equipment like lawnmowers and trucks from state legislators, their relatives, the

Governor's aide, political campaign managers, and so on.

One politician told a club to solve its financial problems by buying a steam shovel. "Rent it to the state," he reportedly said, "It will solve all your problems. You won't even have to charge any more dues."

The *Times* reports "a tangible feeling in the air of revulsion toward politics," in Boston as a result of all this. "A political scientist writes of the growth of 'alienated voters,' who 'believe that voting is useless because politicians are corrupt, selfish and beyond popular control . . . These voters view the political process as a secret conspiracy, the object of which is to plunder them.'"

It Was Reported in the Press

For Clemency — The New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee has initiated a petition campaign to win executive clemency for Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, civil liberties champions now serving 12-month terms for defying the House committee. Copies of the petition may be obtained by writing to the New York Council, 150 W. 34th St., New York, N. Y.

Sounds Reasonable — In a June 15 statement, Adlai Stevenson categorically denied a Republican charge that he had influenced a claimed U.S. decision to withhold air support for the counter-revolutionary invasion of Cuba.

For Automated Employees? — General Electric has installed a completely automated employees' cafeteria at its headquarters in New York.

Capitalist Realism — A Madison Avenue ad agency which handles men's wear is using models with furrowed brows. A spokesman explains: "The bulk of America's purchasing power is in the hands of worriers. Nobody gets ahead these days without pushing. Pushing makes tension; tension makes furrows. The average ad reader . . . can identify

himself much more readily with a model who looks like he's living and working under pressure than with the untroubled, smiling fellow who appears to be living on an inheritance."

Socialized Stereo — "President Kennedy is such a hi-fi fan . . . that he has had the Army Signal Corps install sets around the White House living quarters. One set is in the president's bedroom — under his bed, with speakers on each side of the bed." — The June 11 *N. Y. Herald Tribune*.

Small Legal Delay — The U.S. Supreme Court has ordered a new trial for Emil Reck who was sentenced to 199 years on a charge of participating in the murder of a Chicago doctor. The court said Reck had been mistreated by the police and denied adequate food and counsel. Reck was convicted 25 years ago.

Outlook Gloomy — The Punta Alegre Sugar Corp. has applied for tax refunds totaling \$217,800 and indicated it will be asking for more. The company said: "There does not appear to be any immediate prospect of recovery of Cuban assets or of receiving any compensation."

America's Shaky Foundation — In a bitterly worded New York

Herald Tribune article entitled, "The Great Undie Scandal," Eugenia Sheppard declares: "Any woman who is trailing around in an old beat-up bra and girdle these days . . . ought to be deeply ashamed of herself."

Nobody Loves Them — Dr. S. B. Dickinson, a magazine research consultant, reports that teen-agers tend to view advertising as "an occult and evil force, not unlike smog — an integral part of the atmosphere that is unhealthy but cannot be escaped." He added: "We also find this attitude to some degree in studies with adults."

Fact of the Week — A Twentieth Century Fund study found that before the European colonial powers moved in, "Tropical Africa had been governed by Africans . . ."

How Do You Spell That Name? — William J. Grede, a Racine, Wisc., manufacturer, says: "The whole progression of unions in America since the Industrial Revolution has been an example of the autocracy of the majority which violates religious and American concepts of individualism." As against unionism, Mr. Grede prefers "free enterprise."

Letters from Our Readers

A Reasoned Approach

Chicago, Ill.

Are you interested in subscribers residing in British Guiana? I have three friends there who I am sure would appreciate receiving your paper.

I cannot say that I always agree with Mr. Hansen's views — especially his overly critical attitude toward the Soviet Union — but he is entitled to his opinion as I to mine. It seems paradoxical that many people of the left feel that a socialist paper must express their views completely in order to subscribe. After all, very few of our major newspapers employ more than two or three writers who could be considered more or less impartial.

I felt your special issue on Cuba was outstanding and if you have about 20 copies in hand, I would appreciate your forwarding them to me and billing me for same. I would like to forward these copies to friends who are not yet readers of *The Militant*.

I enjoy the present format very much and feel that in many cases your paper covers all the current events as thoroughly as papers containing twice as many pages. Keep up the wonderful work.

Nellie De Schaaf

Shouldn't Be Allowed

Santa Rosa, Calif.

Because we allow and pay for and fight for the government's right to engage in their hobbies and sports and meddle with the lives and affairs of other people we have allowed about \$300 million of our tax money to be poured into Laos to create an elegant way of life for its parasitic government and other parasitic exploiters. And now we see the governments in pursuance of their sports and hobbies causing Laotians, Congolese and Vietnamese to be fighting against each other.

We allow our government to spend our tax money and organize an army of mercenaries on our own land to invade Cuba and prepare the fuse for an atomic holocaust, while at the same time castigating other governments for doing the same thing in other lands.

I don't approve of Castro having personal control of mass communications but I do approve of him and the Cubans chasing out the exploiters and making Cuba for the Cubans.

E. L.

Anarchists and Cuba

Detroit, Mich.

When I first became interested in politics I sought out what I thought was the most radical tendency, the Anarchists. Heroic figures such as Parsons, Spies and Sacco and Vanzetti appealed to me. In the course of studying contemporary anarchist literature, I came to the conclusion that today's anarchists have very little in common with the famous anarchists. However, I still had a sympathetic feeling toward their martyrs.

Last week I lost what little respect I had for the anarchist movement. On the first page of the anarchist Libertarian League magazine, *Views and Comments*, a policy statement of the league entitled "For the Cuban Revolution" turned my stomach. In the first paragraph they state that they are for a deepening of the Cuban Revolution. Also they bemoan the fact that when their Cuban anarchist friends landed on the beach in Cuba the CIA sold them out. They feel the CIA prevented them from being victorious. They are also angry that the Cuban Revolutionary Council

didn't accept their program. To me vermin are vermin, no matter how much they talk of "real revolution."

They boast that the Cuban anarchists participated in the anti-Castro underground as long as any of the other rats. Their mission in invading Cuba was to establish an anarchist paradise. Along with their comrades (the wealthy, the Batista butchers and the CIA boys), these "revolutionaries" in a united front to free Cuba from "tyranny" lasted 72 hours. The counter-revolutionary "revolutionaries" didn't get their chance to set up the anarchist paradise. If they ever try again they will get the same answer from the Cuban people.

The Cubans know the difference between revolutionists and "revolutionaries" fighting in a counter-revolutionary army. The opportunity for the anarchists to play a constructive role in the Cuban Revolution is gone. Now they are enemies of the revolution. The Haymarket martyrs and Sacco and Vanzetti are turning over in their graves. The anarchist movement is disgraced before the working class of the world. Three years ago I made the choice between anarchism and revolutionary socialism. I made the correct choice.

S. B.

Better Than College

Seattle, Wash.

Enclosed find \$3 for renewal of *The Militant* for 1961. Thanks for a factual and well reported paper.

Believe you are doing a lot of good in getting facts to thinking people, though others don't read it. Have talked with college-educated, worldly folks who are not informed on world conditions.

E.F.H.

Shaw on Trotsky

Boston, Mass.

I don't know if it's still possible to obtain Trotsky's book, *Problems of Life*. But I thought your readers might be interested in an appraisal of it by George Bernard Shaw. It's in the new book *To a Young Actress: The Letters of Bernard Shaw to Molly Tompkins*.

On Oct. 19, 1924, Shaw wrote: "Yesterday on my way down to Northampton I had with me a bundle of reports of the speeches of our great party leaders and a half crown book by Trotsky on *Problems of Life*."

"For sheer coarse savage bloody-mindedness it would be hard to beat the orations of Birkenhead, Lloyd George and Churchill."

"For good sense, unaffected frankness and educated mental capacity give me Trotsky all the time. To turn from the presidential campaign in your country [the U.S.] and the general elections here [Great Britain] to his surveys of the position is to move to another planet."

G.W.

Likes the Truth

Sedro Wooley, Wash.

I wish to thank you for continuing to send us *The Militant* until we got our renewal in. I like the way you speak the truth for all nationalities and races in this country. Also your fine job of upholding Fidel Castro and the people of Cuba.

D.M.

Opinion on Bomb Tests

New York, N. Y.

Kennedy is going to ask Japanese Premier Ikeda his opinion on this country starting up the nuclear tests again. How about polling the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

H.C.

Thought for the Week

"I believe the next generation in this country will be conservative and I believe that the leader of that conservative force will be John F. Kennedy." — George E. Sokolsky, arch-reactionary columnist for the Hearst press.